

ended up in the pockets of high-priced contractors and consultants, and to pay for insurance and security and other overhead costs.

There are serious consequences resulting from this administration's handling of the chaos in Iraq. One, which all Senators are increasingly hearing about from our constituents, is the possibility of a return to the draft. If Iraq continues on its downward spiral, there is growing concern that it may be necessary at some point to reinstate military conscription. I oppose returning to a military draft, I do not believe it is necessary, and I believe it would lessen our military effectiveness.

Yet the President needs to acknowledge to the American people that our entire military forces, including the active Army, the Reserves, and the National Guard, are stretched very thin right now because of the choices the President has made. The military is finding it difficult to get new recruits and has resorted to a backdoor draft, forcing personnel to remain in the service through so-called stop-loss orders.

The Pentagon at some point might decide that the only way to find new recruits—unless we pursue more sensible policies—would be through a draft. I sincerely hope not. This is only one of the many examples of the life-and-death choices that the Nation faces in prudently allocating our resources to combat terrorism.

A lot has been said about President Bush's consistency. His campaign advertisements boast that he is a strong leader because he 'says what he means and he does what he says.'

What good is consistency when it means sending 140,000 Americans into a guerrilla war in a foreign land fueled by religious and ethnic hatred, without justification?

What good is consistency when it means spending upwards of \$200 billion on a policy that has not made us any safer, and that has turned Iraq into a haven for terrorists eager to kill Americans who they see as foreign invaders out to destroy Islam itself?

What good is consistency when it squanders the good will that we need to effectively fight terrorism, to build a real coalition so the United States is not paying 90 percent of the cost and suffering 90 percent of the casualties?

What good is consistency, when all it really amounts to is hollow rhetoric that bears no relationship to the facts?

The President and Vice-President have been consistent alright—consistently wrong. There is no value in that.

The President and Vice President constantly assert that we need to 'stay the course.' My answer to that is that if you are captain of the ship and you are heading for an iceberg, you change course. You want to get to the same destination, but you do not want to plow into the iceberg to get there.

It is this President's rigid adherence to a misguided ideology that has gotten us into deep, deep trouble in Iraq.

The American people deserve better. They deserve competence and they deserve honesty. They deserve leaders who know the difference between a political decision, and the right decision.

AEROSPACE MANUFACTURING

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about a troubling dispute between two great partners in trade. Boeing Commercial Airplanes, a pioneer and mainstay in American aerospace manufacturing since 1917, is being injured by subsidies that European governments are providing to its main competitor, Airbus.

More than 30 years ago, Airbus was created by the governments of Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Spain with the goal of building a competitive airplane manufacturer for the European Continent. To help encourage growth by their new company, these governments began giving Airbus large amounts of money with very liberal terms. These subsidies included infrastructure loans, loss coverage, debt forgiveness, money for research and development, equity infusion, and launch aid.

These subsidies have allowed Airbus to develop and market a full range of aircraft without incurring full commercial risk. The launch aid assistance alone, which is essentially no-fault borrowing, has amounted to over \$15 billion and allowed Airbus to undercut the marketplace with lower prices. In fact, if Airbus had borrowed this money at standard commercial rates, it is estimated that they would have to incur an additional \$35 billion on their books today.

While subsidies of this sort might be acceptable for a company in its infancy, Airbus has long since grown into a robust and mature competitor. Airbus today competes in every single airplane market over 100 seats and is now jointly owned by the European Aeronautic Defense and Space—EADS—Company and BAE Systems, the world's second- and fourth-largest aerospace companies respectively. Combined, these two defense companies are actually larger than Boeing. In fact, last year, for the first time, Airbus surpassed Boeing in annual aircraft deliveries. Yet, they continue to receive large government subsidies.

As much as these subsidies have helped Airbus, they have harmed Boeing. Boeing's global market share, based on deliveries, fell from nearly 67 percent in 1999 to 48 percent in 2003. In the past 5 years, Boeing Commercial Airplanes has reduced employment from 115,880 to 54,880—that is 61,000 workers who have lost some of the highest quality and highest paying manufacturing jobs in the Nation. The aerospace industry is one of the most competitive sectors of our economy, and it is the single largest positive contributor to the U.S. manufacturing trade balance.

The facts are simple. Airbus is a mature company with a full family of

airplanes that can no longer justify these subsidies, and the obvious damage to Boeing must be addressed and resolved.

PRIVACY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES OVERSIGHT BOARD

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, the 9/11 Commission recognized that one of the biggest challenges we face in fighting the war on terrorism is protecting civil liberties. The Commission said, "While protecting our homeland, Americans should be mindful of threats to vital personal and civil liberties. This balancing is no easy task, but we must constantly strive to keep it right."

To help keep this balance right, the Commission wisely recommended the creation of a board to ensure that the Government does not violate privacy or civil liberties. Following this recommendation, the National Intelligence Reform Act of 2004 establishes the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board. I want to commend Senator COLLINS and Senator LIEBERMAN for recognizing the importance of this issue.

The 9/11 Commission has endorsed the Collins-Lieberman Board. Commissioners Slade Gorton and Richard Ben-Veniste told the House Government Reform Committee: "A Board of the kind we recommend can be found in the Collins-Lieberman bill in the Senate."

Some have claimed that establishing this board will tilt the balance between security and liberty too far in favor of liberty. I disagree. As the 9/11 Commission said, "The choice between security and liberty is a false choice." We can be both safe and free.

Throughout American history, in times of war, we have sacrificed liberty in the name of security. Now, we are being tested again. The creation of the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board sends a clear message: This time will be different. We will protect the lives of the American people, but we will also protect their liberty.

The board created by the Collins-Lieberman resolution is a vast improvement over the President's Board on Safeguarding Americans' Civil Liberties, which the President recently created by Executive order.

The President's board is chaired by the Deputy Attorney General and its members will all be high-ranking Government officials, the vast majority of them political appointees.

This board will not be independent because its members are precisely those officials who need independent civil liberties advice. This is like letting a baseball player call his own balls and strikes.

I asked Commission Chair Tom Kean about this. He said that, in the Commission's view, the civil liberties board should have independent members from outside the Government who can provide a "disinterested perspective."

The Collins-Lieberman Board will provide that "disinterested perspective." The board will be appointed by